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SPECIAL COMMITTEE AGAINST APARTHEID

PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE 650th MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Monday, 17 June 1991, at 10.30 a.m.

Chairman: Mr. GAMBARI (Nigeria)

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The meeting was called to order at 11.50 a.m.

INTERNATIONAL DAY OF SOLIDARITY WITH THE STRUGGLING PEOPLE OF SOUTH AFRICA (SOWETO DAY)

The CHAIRMAN: I declare open the 650th meeting of the Special Committee against Apartheid, a meeting devoted to the solemn observance of International Day of Solidarity with the Struggling People of South Africa.

On behalf of the Special Committee, I welcome the representatives of the President of the General Assembly and of the Secretary-General, the President of the Security Council and the Chairmen of regional groups of States members of the United Nations.

I wish also to welcome Ms. Sebe Potgieter and Ms. Patricia de Lille, our special guests from South Africa, who are representing, respectively, the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC) and the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC).

I am especially pleased and honoured to welcome Congressman Edolphus Towns, who has kindly accepted our invitation to participate in this solemn observance. I also thank all delegations and participants for responding positively to our invitation to attend the meeting.

This year's observance is taking place at an important juncture of developments in South Africa. While democratic forces within the country continue to strive for a faster elimination of apartheid, there are still obstacles on the path towards negotiations which do not allow for euphoria at the current stage of the process. There is also a broad discussion within the international community as to the response to the challenging developments in South Africa and to the means and forms of assisting the people in their struggle for the establishment of a free, united, non-racial and democratic society in that country.

(The Chairman)

May I now invite participants to stand and observe a minute of silence in memory of the victims of the Soweto massacre and of all the others who have fallen and continue to fall because of their opposition to apartheid.

The participants observed a minute of silence.

The CHAIRMAN: I now have the pleasure and the honour to invite His Excellency Mr. Jean-Jacques Bechio, President of the Security Council and Permanent Representative of Côte d'Ivoire, to address our meeting.

Mr. BECHIO (Côte d'Ivoire), President of the Security Council (interpretation from French): Allow me first of all to thank you and the other members of the Special Committee for having invited me, in my capacity as President of the Security Council, to participate in the observance of International Day of Solidarity with the Struggling People of South Africa - Soweto Day.

This year, the observance is taking place in the context of major developments in South Africa. The members of the Security Council view positively the initiatives being undertaken towards the dismantling of the apartheid system. They note the progress made towards the repeal of apartheid laws, the unbanning of the various political organizations, the release of many of the political prisoners and the lifting of the state of emergency. The members of the Council consider these latest developments as constituting the basis for continued progress towards the complete dismantling of the apartheid system.

At the same time, they wish to reiterate that until all traces of apartheid have been removed the process cannot be considered complete. They urge the South African authorities to release unconditionally all remaining political prisoners and detainees and to allow refugees and exiles to return home in safety and dignity.

(Mr. Bechio, President of the Security Council)

The members of the Security Council express increasing concern at the ongoing violence in the country. They urge the South African authorities to meet their responsibilities in that regard, and call on all parties concerned to contribute to the establishment of a climate free from violence. Indeed, the continuing violence is in stark contrast to the positive developments and undermines the effort that must be made to alleviate the poverty of the disadvantaged sector of the South African population, which aspires to a better life.

The members of the Council are firmly committed to doing all in their power, consonant with the Charter of the United Nations, to contribute to the enjoyment by all South Africans of the rights proclaimed in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. They encourage the people of South Africa to participate fully and in good faith in negotiations to decide their own future in a non-racial and democratic society.

The CHAIRMAN: I now have the pleasure and the honour to invite Her Excellency Mrs. Absa Claude Diallo, Vice-President of the General Assembly, to make a statement on behalf of the President of the General Assembly.

Mrs. DIALLO (Senegal), Vice-President of the General Assembly (interpretation from French): Professor Guido de Marco, President of the General Assembly, has been unavoidably detained owing to important obligations. He has asked me to speak on his behalf this morning, and I am pleased and honoured to read out his statement:

"Today we observe the International Day of Solidarity with the Struggling People of South Africa, at a time when there are real prospects for political change in that country.

"Recent initiatives - in the forefront of which is the repeal of the pillars of apartheid: the Land Acts, the Group Areas Act, the Population Registration Act - are all important milestones on the road towards the complete elimination of apartheid. However, that road remains scattered with obstacles that will have to be overcome if a system based on equality, democracy and the rule of law is to be established in South Africa.

"Although some legal structures have been struck down, apartheid cannot be abolished by a mere stroke of the pen. While we welcome the changes for the better, we must not forget that there is no agreement yet as to how the negotiations on a new constitution will be carried out nor as to when they will begin, and that the conditions that must be met if the negotiations are to proceed in an atmosphere of peace are still not in place. Many political prisoners remain in jail and only a few exiles have been allowed to return without restrictions.

(Mrs. Diallo, Vice-President of the General Assembly)

The violence that has broken out in South Africa in the past months, and that the regime seems unable or unwilling to contain, threatens to derail the fragile and complex negotiating process. The glaring socio-economic problems facing the disadvantaged groups of the population can also be prejudicial to the process.

"Much remains to be done and the people of South Africa today more than ever need the unwavering support of the international community in the struggle that it wages to put an end to apartheid. The Declaration on Apartheid and its Destructive Consequences in Southern Africa calls on Member States to continue to exert pressure, individually and together, on the South African régime to oblige it to enter into serious negotiations with the South African majority on a new constitution. The consensus on South Africa, which was established in December 1989 with the adoption of that Declaration, must be preserved. Member States cannot evade the political and moral commitments they made at the forty-fourth session of the General Assembly. It is their obligation to act jointly and to show that they are as devoted as ever to the speedy elimination of apartheid and the construction of a united, non-racial and democratic South Africa.

"Today we commemorate the massacre 15 years ago of hundreds of black schoolchildren who were demonstrating peacefully for better education and a more just society. The conditions that led to their grievances are still being felt in South Africa, where most of the black communities must still cope with high unemployment, a crisis in education, devastating living conditions and a substandard public health system.

(Mrs. Diallo, Vice-President of the General Assembly)

This serious and lamentable situation feeds violence when it does not provoke it, and jeopardizes hopes for a successful political settlement.

"That is why we must immediately deal with the inequalities of the living conditions that apartheid has inflicted on the black population, particularly in housing, education, employment and health. Assistance to the disadvantaged social groups of South Africa must be one of the international community's priorities.

"Soweto Day is an opportunity for us to reaffirm our support for the South African people struggling for justice and equality. Working together with resolve and diligence to facilitate the negotiating process leading to the adoption of the new constitution, and making use of pressure as well as humanitarian, legal and other kinds of humanitarian aid programmes, we will be able to help ensure that, despite setbacks and difficulties, the process of national reconciliation and progress towards a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa will certainly continue until the changes that have been made in South Africa become lasting and irreversible and until we can finally say that apartheid has indeed been abolished."

The CHAIRMAN: I now invite Mr. Sotirios Mousouris, Assistant Secretary-General of the Centre against Apartheid, to read out a message on behalf of the Secretary-General of our Organization.

Mr. MOUSOURIS (Assistant Secretary-General of the Centre against Apartheid): The statement of the Secretary-General is as follows:

"This year's observance of the International Day of Solidarity with the Struggling People of South Africa occurs at a time of unprecedented change in that country. Since last year's observance, a number of

(Mr. Mousouris, Assistant Secretary-General, Centre against Apartheid)

dramatic developments, both positive and negative, have taken place which have ensured that the issue of apartheid has remained a subject of intense world attention. It is unfortunate that the commemoration this year of Soweto Day, one of the more dramatic occurrences in the modern history of South Africa, should take place against a backdrop of increasing violence in many part of South Africa. The violence has unfortunately added to tensions and instability throughout the country and is posing a serious threat to the negotiating process.

"As a result, even since last year the spirit of hope which was felt in South Africa for a relatively rapid and peaceful process for negotiations aimed at the elimination of apartheid has been somewhat tempered. I should like to take this opportunity to call for immediate remedial action by the Government and all parties concerned in order to avoid the very serious consequences, not only for the negotiation process but also for the future viability of the country as a whole, that may result from the violence being left unchecked.

"In expressing the hope for a peaceful process of transition, we should not forget that a number of important steps have been taken in the right direction by the authorities in South Africa as well as by their future negotiating partners. Major apartheid legislation has been or is in the process of being repealed, thus, we hope, laying the foundation for the building of a new and just society. The process for the release of political prisoners and the return of exiles, although delayed, is, we hope, well under way.

(Mr. Mousouris, Assistant Secretary-General, Centre against Apartheid)

"Whenever I have the opportunity, I urge the Government of South Africa to recognize and respect in full the dignity and worth of all citizens of that country, and to take initiatives that would lead promptly to the peaceful eradication of apartheid and to the establishment of a non-racial, democratic society there.

(Mr. Mousouris, Assistant Secretary-General, Centre against Apartheid)

"For all of the present difficulties, the realization of this new society in South Africa is today closer than ever before, and I again urge all those in South Africa who have it in their power to bring it about to act with the utmost urgency. I do so, as I did last year, with the ardent hope that the momentum created thus far will accelerate the process of eliminating apartheid, not only from the lives, institutions and social practices of South Africa, but also from the hearts and minds of its people.

"At this crucial time in the history of South Africa, the United Nations stands ready to play a constructive role in helping to promote a peaceful process of change through negotiations. The Organization is also prepared to provide assistance to the disadvantaged sectors of the South African population in their search for a better life and in their desire to fulfil the expectations which have been raised by the promise of the imminent total demise of the apartheid system."

The CHAIRMAN: I should now like to make a statement on behalf of the Special Committee against Apartheid. But first may I ask all those present to rise to observe a minute of silence in tribute to the memory of Ibrahim Noor, late Secretary of the Special Committee, who recently died.

The participants observed a minute of silence.

The CHAIRMAN: This year's observance of the International Day of Solidarity with the Struggling People of South Africa takes place during a period of intense political activity in South Africa, which at times has appeared promising and at other times has seemed to be dangerously disappointing. The Special Committee one year ago on this day characterized the political developments in South Africa as auspicious, particularly the

(The Chairman)

efforts made by the authorities and some of the representatives of the black majority to reach a negotiated settlement. Since then, despite further efforts and promises, the process now appears to be at risk. Unfulfilled or partially fulfilled promises and escalating violence in South Africa are without doubt the main threats to this process of peaceful negotiation towards the abolition of apartheid.

In a very real sense South Africa is today at a crossroads. We behold a moment of great political fragility in that country. It is a time when the hope and desire to move forward to a new and better South Africa have never been greater, and yet there seems to be a concerted effort by certain sectors of that fragmented society to sow the seeds of dissension.

May I remind representives that in December 1989 we registered a major accomplishment at the United Nations - the adoption by consensus of the historic Declaration on Apartheid and its Destructive Consequences in Southern Africa. That Declaration delineated the common objective of the international community of the establishment through peaceful means of a united, non-racial, democratic South Africa and spelt out the steps that must be taken to create a climate conducive to negotiations, the modalities of those negotiations and the principles of a new Constitution.

The consensus Declaration also contained a detailed programme of action regarding the responsiblity of the international community. It was agreed that the international community would not relax existing measures aimed at encouraging the South African regime to eradicate apartheid until there was clear evidence of profound and irreversible changes, bearing in mind the objectives of that Declaration.

In his report last year the Secretary-General, based on the findings of the mission which he had sent to South Africa, found that a climate

(The Chairman

appropriate for negotiations had not yet been established and that the political process towards the dismantlement of the apartheid system was still at an early stage.

The same spirit of consensus prevailed in September and December last year, when the General Assembly, again by consensus, adopted resolutions calling on Governments to adhere strictly to the programme of action contained in the Declaration.

This year some further positive steps have been taken by the authorities in South Africa. They include the repeal of the Group Areas Act and the Lands Act, the recent announcement of the repeal of the Population Registration Act and the promise that aspects of the Internal Security Act will be revised.

On the other hand, sufficient progress has not been made regarding the release of all political prisoners and the return of political exiles to their homeland without restrictions. Political prisoners still remain in jail and the bulk of the exiles have not been allowed to return to South Africa without restrictions.

Even more disconcerting has been the inability or unwillingness of the Government to deal impartially and effectively with the unprecedented level of violence that has gripped the country over the past few months. We have reason to suspect that the indifference that the South African authorities have long displayed regarding violence was caused by the intention to weaken the African National Congress and other anti-apartheid forces. This is a policy which we consider dangerous and myopic, since it has led to the present impasse in South Africa.

It is disappointing to us that one and a half years after the adoption of the United Nations Declaration Pretoria has not yet fulfilled all the five necessary conditions to create a climate conducive to negotiations - that is,

(The Chairman)

an atmosphere of free political activity - and has not taken the necessary measures to bring the violence under control, with the result that instead of a climate conducive to negotiations there is a climate of distrust and intransigence building up in the country. It seems to us in the Special Committee that it would be a tragedy if the fragile process that has been launched is derailed. In this context, the role of the international community assumes the utmost importance. The Special Committee believes that a combined policy of pressure and assistance will help achieve a speedy end to apartheid.

Continued pressure is needed since negotiations have not yet started in South Africa, nor is there agreement on the appropriate form for such negotiations. We should also recognize that the parties to future negotiations have neither moral equivalence nor equal power. Future negotiations will be held between, on the one hand, those whose authority is based on a system which has been universally condemned, and, on the other, those whose struggle is for the realization of the principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. It will be between a party that holds the reins of power and those forces that are subject to this power.

It is important, therefore, that the latter forces be supported until the negotiations on a new Constitution are concluded. This objective can be achieved by maintaining pressure on South Africa. The form of the required pressure should be agreed upon by the international community after consultations with the national liberation movements and the other anti-apartheid forces in the country. A premature lifting of pressure, which would result in the elimination of all sanctions and in the establishment of

(The Chairman)

close relations with South Africa, would be counter-productive at this stage, if not outright dangerous.

Assistance to the disadvantaged sections of South African society should also be foremost among the international community's concerns. That is why the Special Committee is particularly delighted to be organizing, in cooperation with the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization later this month a conference on the educational needs of the victims of apartheid. Through trust funds, based on voluntary contributions by Governments, the United Nations provides scholarships to South African students and aid for legal defence and assistance to released political prisoners. These should be continued and expanded.

(The Chairman)

Ultimately, the task of the international community should be to foster, through pressure and assistance, the process of negotiations on a new constitution and to see to it that a united, non-racial and democratic society in South Africa is established without further delay.

It is our view that if the majority of the people of South Africa ever needed international solidarity, it is now - more than ever before. The need to restore confidence and trust, the urgent necessity to enhance political tolerance, both among the races and among the black majority, has become even more imperative. So is the need to guarantee that South Africa does not regress into a repressive past from which it is just barely beginning to emerge.

Members of the international community have an obligation to ensure that the ongoing peace process in South Africa is not in any way jeopardized. It must give continued support to those efforts aimed at the eradication of apartheid and the adoption of a new constitution which guarantees fundamental human rights, protected in a bill of rights, and which, in addition, fosters equality, social justice, democracy and the independence of the judiciary. And it must provide the appropriate assistance to anti-apartheid organizations so that South Africa may reach these goals as soon as possible.

The new political dispensation in South Africa is one that will need to be defined by the South African people themselves. But the task will unquestionably be easier with our support and with our assistance. It is not the role of the international community to remain impartial; rather, the international community must assist those who oppose apartheid and whose brothers and sisters in the thousands have sacrificed their lives over decades to obtain freedom, equality and progress for all peoples in their country.

(The Chairman)

There is no doubt that our collective pressure has been and will continue to be fundamental to the achievement of these goals. On this Day of Solidarity, therefore, I find it necessary to reiterate that, while all encouragement must be given to South Africans in their endeavours to negotiate a settlement of their conflict, such encouragement does not at this stage justify the removal of the international community's political leverage - that is, pressure, which helped orchestrate the negotiations in the first instance. Unilateral or collective lifting of existing measures, for whatever intent and purpose, impedes, in our opinion, more than it assists the process of negotiation. At the same time, the international community should increase the assistance to the victims of apartheid and seriously consider appropriate ways to help address the grave socio-economic inequalities which are the most threatening legacies of apartheid.

I therefore, in conclusion, again call upon the international community to remain resolute in its commitment to the eradication of apartheid, and to do so with all the considerable means at its disposal.

Now I wish to recognize and welcome once again our special guest at today's solemn observance: United States Congressman the Honourable Edolphus Towns.

Mr. Towns not only is a member of the United States Congress but also chairs the Congressional Black Caucus and has been very instrumental in keeping up the debate in Washington, D.C., on the issue of apartheid.

Mr. Towns served in the United States Army before beginning his varied career, which has included work in the health-care field, youth programmes, education, and programmes for the elderly. Mr. Towns taught in the New York

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City public school system and was an Assistant Administrator at Beth Israel Medical Center. He was a professor at Medgar Evers College and Fordham University, both here in New York City. Prior to being elected to the United States Congress, in November 1982, Mr. Towns was the first black Deputy Borough President in Brooklyn's history. He served in that capacity for six years.

It is my distinct honour and pleasure to welcome the Honourable Mr. Towns and to invite him to make a statement.

Mr. TOWNS: I thank the Committee for honouring me with an invitation to be with it on the International Day of Solidarity with the Struggling People of South Africa, and to commemorate the Soweto uprising in which demonstrating schoolchildren were killed or injured for peacefully protesting against the apartheid system.

This is a moment of truth, a moment in which we shall witness either the laying of foundations for peace and freedom in South Africa or the continuation of Government-sponsored violence and suffering among South Africa's non-white peoples.

We must now exert more pressure than ever before on the South African Government to ensure that the dismantling of the pillars of apartheid is genuine and that human and civil rights for non-white South Africans become permanent fixtures in South African society.

It is important that we keep clear the distinctions between illusion and reality, between pacification and irreversible progress, when we discuss the South African Government's most recent moves to dismantle the apartheid system. The repeal of the Group Areas and Land Acts and the Population Registration Act has been hailed as a major step in ending apartheid. Yet

(Mr. Towns)

these actions, as a practical matter, represent little or no change in the ability of black South Africans to own land or move freely within the borders of South Africa.

The Government has announced the release of only a few hundred political prisoners. The comprehensive anti-apartheid Act of 1986 calls for the release of

> "All persons persecuted for their political beliefs or detained unduly without trial ...".

International human rights organizations have verified that thousands of persons remain imprisoned or in indefinite detention because of their political beliefs.

Earlier this year the South African Government announced the lifting of the state of emergency. But a virtual state of emergency still exists under the Public Safety Act amendments, which allow the South African Government to ban its black citizens and to detain black South Africans indefinitely without trial or basic due process. In just the past year scores of blacks have been killed and thousands wounded by actions of the security forces under the cover of repressive internal security laws. This atmosphere of repression, coupled with suspected South African police involvement in fomenting township violence, has undeniably created a chilling effect on black political participation in spite of the unbanning of major political parties.

Perhaps the most glaring weakness in the South African regime's initiatives has been its failure to convene real negotiations with South Africa's black leaders on the political participation of the black population. Black South Africans can neither vote nor run for national

(Mr. Towns)

office. They cannot even register to vote. And the South African Government, in a further denial of full black political participation, has doggedly refused to register the estimated 30,000 South African exiles who wish to return to South Africa.

In sum, changes in major apartheid laws have done little to weaken the oppressive system of minority rule in South Africa.

The United States of America has been a leader in the fight against apartheid. Now is not the time to abdicate that leadership. I am committed to the idea that this nation, and every nation honouring international sanctions against South Africa, should keep sanctions in place until the process of dismantling the system of apartheid has become irreversible.

One of the cornerstones of United States foreign policy has been its commitment to democracy. Free and fair elections have been our litmus test for democracy all over the world. Therefore, the United States of America should continue sanctions until we see free and fair elections in South Africa, based on universal suffrage, without threat or intimidation from internal security forces. The fundamental principles of democracy should apply no less to South Africa than to Eastern Europe, no less to South Africa than to Central America, no less to South Africa than to the rest of the continent.

(Mr. Towns)

The best way to honour the memory of those who died at Soweto 15 years ago is to keep sanctions in place until the freedoms they struggled and died for are truly won. The Congressional Black Caucus has already expressed its grave concerns about the rumoured lifting of United States sanctions and has requested a meeting with the President of the United States to discuss the issue before any decision on modification or suspension of sanctions is made.

I ask everyone here to continue the pressure here in the United Nations and all over the globe to bring down the system of apartheid now and for ever more. Oppression is wrong.

The CHAIRMAN: I now invite the Chairman of the Inter-Governmental Group to Monitor the Supply and Shipping of Oil and Petroleum Products to South Africa, His Excellency Mr. Anthony B. Nyakyi of the United Republic of Tanzania, to make a statement.

Mr. NYAKYI (United Republic of Tanzania), Chairman of the Inter-Governmental Group to Monitor the Supply and Shipping of Oil and Petroleum Products to South Africa: On behalf of the Inter-Governmental Group to Monitor the Supply and Shipping of Oil and Petroleum Products to South Africa, I should like at the outset to thank the Special Committee against Apartheid for its invitation to me to participate in this solemn meeting in observance of International Day of Solidarity with the Struggling People of South Africa. This year's commemoration comes at a critical juncture in the struggle for the eradication of the scourge of apartheid. While the movement towards reform, which many participants noted and welcomed on this occasion last year, slowed down in the course of the year, ironically the campaign for easing the pressures on the Pretoria regime has accelerated.

(Mr. Nyakyi, Chairman, Inter-Governmental Group to Monitor the Supply and Shipping of Oil and Petroleum Products to South Africa)

In accordance with the Pretoria Minute of August 1990, all political prisoners should have been freed by 30 April 1991. That is the case also regarding exiles, all of whom should have been allowed back into South Africa by that date. We all know what has happened: Only a few political prisoners have been released. More than 1,000 political prisoners await release. Only a handful of exiles has been allowed back into South Africa, while more than 40,000 of their compatriots await permission to return to their country. As the deadline approached, the regime found it necessary to rewrite the Pretoria Minute. Once again the Pretoria regime has been allowed to move the goal posts and to get away with it. We are now told that the Pretoria Minute means not what it says but what the regime says it means.

Similarly, promises to repeal the major legislative pillars of apartheid by the middle of this month have not yet materialized. In other words, despite the euphoria generated by De Klerk's actions and promises, the conditions set for the establishment of a climate conducive to genuine negotiations for the eradication of apartheid and the creation of a new South Africa have not yet been met.

July is now said to be the new date for the repeal of the pillars of apartheid. But more disturbingly there are indications that the old laws, instead of being completely scrapped, will be replaced by new legislation which will entrench the old iniquities. As the Southern African Research and Documentation Centre has pointed out in update number two of its publication Unfinished Business: Apartheid after Apartheid, the proposed Residential

(Mr. Nyakyi, Chairman, Inter-Governmental Group to Monitor the Supply and Shipping of Oil and Petroleum Products to South Africa)

Environment Bill sounds suspiciously like the old Group Areas Act, while the new land legislation seems designed to keep most of the land in white hands.

The depressing reality about the dispute between the regime and the African National Congress over the meaning of the Pretoria Minute is that once again the regime's allies are shamefully apologetic about the behaviour of their friend. They know in their heart of hearts that the regime is wrong in its attempt to rewrite the Pretoria Minute, yet they cannot bring themselves to do the right thing: exert pressure on Pretoria to compel it to honour its obligations. Instead, their preoccupation seems to be to assist the regime in its campaign to secure the lifting of sanctions.

But nothing exposes the hypocrisy of the apartheid regime more than its attitude to the violence which has plagued South Africa for the last several years. Since the beginning of this year the violence is conservatively estimated to have claimed over 1,000 lives. In the three-month period between January and March over 750 deaths were recorded. In May, the death toll was estimated at 15 per day. At the beginning of the violence there were many people in the West who genuinely believed in the regime's characterization of the strife as black-on-black violence. Now only the naive or the regime's supporters and friends accept that characterization. Now few can ignore the mounting evidence of the involvement of the regime's security forces not only in instigating violence between supporters of the Inkatha Freedom Party and genuine anti-apartheid forces but also of their actual participation in acts of violence. In a paper entitled "South Africa: Evidence of 'Third Force' Destabilization Mounts", published in May, the Southern African Research and

(Mr. Nyakyi, Chairman, Inter-Governmental Group to Monitor the Supply and Shipping of Oil and Petroleum Products to South Africa)

Documentation Centre provides detailed evidence of numerous acts of police complicity in acts of violence committed by Inkatha Freedom Party supporters, such as recruiting people, providing training and arms, providing escorts, turning a blind eye to Inkatha violence and the like. An article by Christopher Wren in The New York Times of 12 June 1991, based on the revelations of retired South African army major Nico Basson, corroborates what was revealed in the Centre's paper. Given those circumstances the regime can have no interest in stopping the violence.

But what of the outside world? There is something wrong with a world that tolerates loss of life at this rate. At a time when the preeminent preoccupation of the world, particularly of the major Powers, is the promotion of human rights, for the world to look at the carnage going on in South Africa as helpless spectators is an indictment of the "new world order". The most basic human right is the right to life. Those who cannot bring themselves to assert that right for the innocent people in South Africa's townships forfeit their right to assert it for people anywhere else in the world.

The very least that can be expected from the world community is increased pressure on the regime to fulfil its obligations as the authority responsible for the maintenance of law and order. That is what the people of South Africa have demanded. Besides, the United Nations Declaration on Apartheid and its Destructive Consequences in Southern Africa calls for the maintenance of sanctions on the regime until there is clear evidence of profound and irreversible change towards a new South Africa. Unfortunately, the reverse seems to be the preoccupation of the major Western Powers. In that regard the

(Mr. Nyakyi, Chairman, Inter-Governmental Group to Monitor the Supply and Shipping of Oil and Petroleum Products to South Africa)

enthusiasm shown by the European Community in providing leadership for the lifting of sanctions, in contrast to an attitude to almost total disregard for the violence going on in the townships of South Africa, is most regrettable. To their credit, Japan and the United States have refused to follow Europe's lead in violating the United Nations Declaration.

The Inter-Governmental Group's mandate is to monitor the oil embargo against South Africa. I am afraid that partcular sanction against Pretoria has fared no better than the other pressures on the regime. The recent announcement by the regime of plans to sell 60 to 80 million barrels of oil stockpiled in disused mines is evidence of the regime's past successes in breaking through the embargo and of its growing confidence that the future need not be feared. The disappointing developments covered in the foregoing paragraphs, including the regime's confidence about future oil supplies, have not deterred the Group from pressing ahead with its mandate.

(Mr. Nyakyi, Chairman, Intergovernmental Group to Monitor the Supply and Shipping of Oil and Petroleum Products to South Africa)

It has continued, and will continue, to investigate cases of alleged violations and to monitor port calls. It will continue to expect the cooperation of States Members of the United Nations in the implementation of its mandate.

In conclusion, let me repeat the conviction we have always restated on this occasion, namely, that apartheid is doomed to fail. The democratic forces ranged against the system will triumph in the end. As we gather to observe the International Day of Solidarity with the Struggling People of South Africa, let this solemn observance send a clear signal to the struggling men and women of South Africa that they are not alone in their struggle and to the regime that there will be no let up until the system is totally eradicated.

The CHAIRMAN: I am afraid now that Congressman Towns must leave the meeting to return to Washington in pursuit of his other duties. I want to thank him once again for honouring our International Day of Solidarity with the Struggling People of South Africa with his presence.

I shall now invite the representatives of the various regional groups to speak. I call first on His Excellency Mr. Andre Erdos of Hungary to make a statement in his capacity as Chairman of the Group of Eastern European States.

Mr. ERDOS (Hungary): Allow me to thank you and the other members of the Special Committee against Apartheid for having invited me, as the current Chairman of the Group of Eastern European States, to participate in the observance of the International Day of Solidarity with the Struggling People of South Africa, by which we mark today the fifteenth anniversary of the

(Mr. Erdos, Hungary)

Soweto massacre. This solemn meeting is taking place at a particular juncture in South Africa's history when major changes are occurring in that country.

We have always rejected all forms of discrimination based on race and ethnic or national origin and repeatedly stated our condemnation of institutionalized State racism, of apartheid in South Africa, the most abhorrent form of racial discrimination. We have constantly raised our voice for the complete eradication of the apartheid system by peaceful means, without delay, and its replacement by a democratic, united and non-racial society.

The rejection of apartheid by the United Nations is unequivocal. For over four decades, this Organization has spoken out clearly and loudly on the problem. At its special session in 1989, the General Assembly adopted a Declaration which encouraged the people of South Africa to join their efforts to bring about an end to apartheid and to work for a peaceful transition to a non-racial, democratic South Africa. The consensus resolution of the General Assembly of last September reaffirmed the unity of the Member States in their opposition to apartheid.

Given the paramount importance we all attach to the dismantling of apartheid, it is more than desirable to preserve the consensus in the world Organization on that issue by taking into account the changing realities and by promoting the significant political processes unfolding in South Africa. These do offer encouraging prospects for the total abolition of apartheid.

We note the emerging progressive trends in South Africa in the recent months and welcome President De Klerk's undertaking of 1 February 1991 to work for the elimination of the fundamental pillars of the apartheid system. One should also note with satisfaction the decisive contribution made by the African National Congress and other democratic movements to the cause of fully

(Mr. Erdos, Hungary)

abolishing apartheid. We acknowledge the major concrete steps that have been taken in the form of legislative proposals and actions for the creation of asociety that would be free from the evil of apartheid. The international community is looking forward to the early implementation of the final legislative steps in this regard.

We are well aware, however, that a long and difficult road lies ahead. A good deal yet remains to be done before each and every South African can live not only de jure but also de facto by the principles set out in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The violence in the townships is a highly disturbing feature of the developments in South Africa and could jeopardize the realization of these human rights principles. It is, therefore, rightful and imperative to expect from the South African authorities and all responsible political forces in the country that they will do their utmost to stop the violence in an expedient and impartial manner. We urge the parties concerned to solve their differences by means of peaceful dialogue. Otherwise, continued disturbances will become a serious impediment to the long-awaited negotiations on the new constitution. We also favour the early implementation of the agreements achieved between the Government of South Africa and the African National Congress concerning, in particular, the release of political prisoners and the return of political exiles.

On this day, the fifteenth anniversary of the Soweto massacre, we join with the rest of the international community in remembering all those who are or have been the victims of racial discrimination, and not least those who have suffered from the policies of apartheid. We solemnly reaffirm our support for and express our solidarity with the legitimate peaceful struggle of the South African people for the total eradication of apartheid and the

(Mr. Erdos, Hungary)

establishment of a united, non-racial and democratic society in South Africa in which all its people, irrespective of race, colour, sex or creed, will enjoy the same fundamental freedoms and human rights.

The CHAIRMAN: I now call on His Excellency Mr. Ricardo G. Castaneda-Cornejo of El Salvador, Chairman of the Group of Latin American and Caribbean States.

Mr. CASTANEDA-CORNEJO (El Salvador) (interpretation from Spanish): First, I should like to congratulate you, Sir, on behalf of the countries of Latin America and the Caribbean, and on my own behalf, on the way you have been carrying out your duties as Chairman of this Committee, whose mandate is highly significant and of great value to the international community in its tireless struggle to bring about the day when the heinous system of apartheid has been eliminated.

In view of the statements made by previous speakers, which have reflected in depth the impact of the policy of apartheid on the South African people and on the bordering States, a policy which, because of its inhuman practices, has been declared a crime against humanity - I shall not dwell at length on the subject.

First, we endorse the statements made in opposition to apartheid, even though during the past two years we have observed an improvement in the situation of the South African people and of neighbouring peoples; in particular, we were pleased to witness the independence of Namibia, the release of Nelson Mandela and the end of the fratricidal struggle in Angola. However, we believe that that is not sufficient and that a great deal remains to be done to achieve an egalitarian society in South Africa, a society free of repression, where any policy of racial discrimination has no legal or moral validity and, consequently, is historically doomed to extinction.

(Mr. Castaneda-Cornejo, El Salvador)

In this regard, we are aware of the work the United Nations has been carrying out since 1946, when the Organization began its consideration of South Africa's policy. During this process, resolutions have been adopted containing binding provisions for Member States with a view to bringing pressure to bear on the Government of South Africa to oblige it to take the necessary steps towards the total elimination of the policy of racial discrimination. Unfortunately, these have not been put into practice, not only because of the opposition of the Government of South Africa but also because of the existence of other external factors which have prevented the pressure from being effective.

In the current phase, we are seeing encouraging steps being taken by the Government of South Africa towards improving the situation of the South African people. This state of affairs kindles hope that very soon South African society will be free of racial discrimination. The United Nations, through the Secretary-General, continues to play a very important role in the process of eliminating the apartheid system, particularly in the context of the negotiations being held to that end.

We trust that the measures agreed to in the joint declaration signed by the Government of South Africa and the African National Congress on 6 August 1990 will be implemented for the benefit of the South African people without distinctions of any type. Accordingly, we urge the Government of South Africa to act with moderation and objectivity, and to cooperate with the Secretary-General in order to facilitate the process of transition to a non-racial society and to make certain that the progress achieved thus far is not minimized or undermined. Rather these agreements must be fulfilled by

(Mr. Castaneda-Cornejo, El Salvador)

all the parties concerned. Not to do so would cause an increase in violence with unpredictable and undesirable consequences.

The international society has experienced radical changes in recent years, and the impact of events transcends national borders. The Government of South Africa must understand that change is necessary and essential in order to achieve peace, stability and national reconciliation among the South African people. The international community is at one in opposing the policy of racial discrimination. The countries of the Latin American and Caribbean region support all constructive initiatives and measures for the elimination of the policy of racial discrimination.

In conclusion, I wish to repeat that you, Sir, the United Nations and all those who are striving against the apartheid system, in particular the heroic people of South Africa, which is constantly struggling against oppression and injustice, all have the unfailing support of all the countries of the Latin American and Caribbean region.

The CHAIRMAN: I now call on Mr. Vieri Traxler of Italy, Chairman of the Group of Western European and Other States.

Mr. TRAXLER (Italy): In my capacity as current Chairman of the Group of Western European and Other States, I wish to express my appreciation for the invitation to address this solemn meeting of the Special Committee against Apartheid in observance of International Day of Solidarity with the Struggling People of South Africa.

Fifteen years separate us from the tragic events in Soweto. Time, however, has neither dimmed our memory nor diminished the determination of the international community to see an end to the odious system of apartheid.

(Mr. Traxler, Italy)

The members of the Group of Western European and Other States reaffirm on this solemn occasion their absolute condemnation of apartheid, their commitment to an early dismantling of that system in its entirety by peaceful means and their attachment to the objectives enshrined in the Declaration against Apartheid adopted by the sixteenth special session of the General Assembly in December 1989.

Today the prospect of a new South Africa appears much closer than before. Important progress has been achieved in the recent past. The countries on whose behalf I have the honour to speak are encouraged by the South African Parliament's approval of legislation repealing as of 10 June two of the remaining so-called pillars of apartheid - the Group Areas Act and the Land Acts - and by steps being taken today to repeal also the Population Registration Act. These same countries urge the South African Government to move rapidly to fulfil its commitments to release all political prisoners, repeal the repressive measures in the Internal Security Act and clear the way for the return of political exiles.

The road ahead is still a difficult one. The recurrent violence in the townships is a source of most serious concern. The countries of the Group of Western European and Other States appeal to the Government of South Africa, as well as to all parties in the South African society, to redouble their efforts to create a climate free of violence.

In reaffirming today the solidarity with the people of South Africa in their endeavour to put an end to the system of apartheid, the countries I have the honour to represent reiterate their view that the difficult road of dialogue and negotiations remains the only one capable of leading to the goal

(Mr. Traxler, Italy)

to which the entire international community is committed: a united, democratic, non-racial South Africa in which all people can enjoy common and equal rights.

The CHAIRMAN: I now call on Mr. Amini Ali Moumin of the Comoros, Chairman of the Group of African States.

Mr. MOUMIN (Comoros): Allow me first of all to thank you, Sir, and the Special Committee against Apartheid for calling this meeting to commemorate this International Day of Solidarity with our struggling brothers of South Africa. On behalf of Africa, I wish to thank all those that have spoken here in an effort to support our brothers' struggle.

(Mr. Moumin, Comoros)

I would also like to thank the Governments of the United States of America and Japan for not having jumped on the bandwagon of those who now wish to lift the embargo against South Africa.

It is true that Mr. de Klerk's Government has shown excellent diplomatic skills. It has tried to scratch the surface of apartheid. It has abolished all the laws that would seem to the international community to be important or to be the pillars of apartheid. But the struggling people of South Africa do not believe that they have struggled all their lives in order to be able to ride in the same bus with the whites or to go to the same beach with the whites or to be able to mingle with the whites. I believe that the main and most important part of their struggle is a political one: it is for them to be able to vote, to be able to have responsibility in the running of their Government. Unless this important point is arrived at, we cannot talk about the end of the apartheid regime.

The only way to justify the sacrifice that was made by the South African people 15 years ago in the Soweto uprising is to arrive at its final goal: the political decision to rule itself, to vote, and to be free in its own country. Hence, it is premature for anyone to think that the pressure on South Africa should be alleviated. If South Africa has done what it has done today, it is because of the international pressure and because of the sanctions that were imposed against it. And until apartheid is abolished totally, the South African people demands that sanctions remain, because that is the only language the South African Government understands.

Today is the fifteenth anniversay of the Soweto uprising. We hope that that uprising will soon be crowned with political success. We wish our brothers in South Africa to be united and speak with one language so that they will be able to arrive at their goal.

The CHAIRMAN: I now invite Mr. Winston Thompson of Fiji, Chairman of the Group of Asian States.

Mr. THOMPSON (Fiji): On behalf of the Group of Asian States, of which I have the honour to be the Chairman for the month of June, I should like to thank you, Sir, for giving us the opportunity to share this solemn and historic occasion with the Special Committee against Apartheid.

The members of the Group of Asian States, individually and collectively, have over the years been at the forefront in opposition to the abhorrent system of apartheid. That that system was doomed to failure was inevitable, but it is tragic beyond any possible description that so much suffering and devastation have been caused to the people of South Africa in particular, as well as to the people of southern Africa and, indeed, to the world at large.

Now that changes are taking place to restore dignity and sovereignty to the deprived people of South Africa, the Group of Asian States reaffirms its firm commitment to the total eradiction of apartheid. Now is not the time to let up on the international pressure which has brought about the changes taking place.

Nothing will erase the memory of the events at Soweto, and it is on such occasions as the one we are commemorating today that the world can more widely pay reverence to the ultimate sacrifice made by heroic people in the cause of self-determination and human freedom. I wish to assure you, Mr. Chairman, the Special Committee, and the struggling people of South Africa of the unswerving support of the Group of Asian States in the unfinished work that lies ahead. We will not relent until the struggling people itself declares its goals to have been attained. We fervently hope that that day will not be long in coming.

The CHAIRMAN: I now have the honour to welcome Ms. Sebe Potgieter, representative of the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC). Ms. Potgieter joins us directly from South Africa, where she is the Assistant Secretary for Political Education in the ANC Youth League. I now invite her to make a statement.

Ms. POTGIETER (African National Congress of South Africa (ANC)): It is a singular honour and privilege for me, on behalf of the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC) and in the name of the people of South Africa, to address this solemn meeting marking the International Day of Solidarity with the Struggling People of South Africa. I am particularly pleased on this occasion - known to our people as South African Youth Day - to share with the participants in this meeting the hopes, anxieties and concerns of South Africa's embattled youth, as reflected in the ANC Youth League and on whose behalf I am privileged to speak.

I wish, however, at the very outset to express our profound gratitude for the invitation extended to us by the Special Committee against Apartheid. During the many years of arduous and very often tragic struggles against apartheid tyranny, we, the youth of South Africa, as an integral part of the anti-apartheid contingent, have undergone the most brutal forms of oppression. In all our endeavours we have always drawn strength from and taken comfort in the knowledge that people of conscience world-wide are fully behind us. That support has always been epitomized by the United Nations and especially the Special Committee against Apartheid. We would therefore like to place on record our heartfelt appreciation of this invaluable support.

(Ms. Potgieter, ANC)

It is now 15 years since the uprisings of Soweto and elsewhere in South Africa which resulted in the tragedy that saw thousands of people, mainly youths, being mowed down with ruthless abandon by the Pretoria regime's army and police. To commemorate that sad episode of our history, as we do today, is not only to pay tribute to the memory of our heroes and heroines, but also to underscore humanity's utter revulsion at the system of apartheid. But more important, in our view, this commemoration serves as a clarion call for concerted action by the international community to end for all the time what has been aptly described as a crime against humanity.

With that in mind, I should like, with your permission, Mr. Chairman, to make some brief observations on the situation in South Africa, in the hope that doing so will contribute towards an international consensus leading to the speedy demise of apartheid and the creation of a non-racial democracy in our country.

The first and foremost point we wish to make is that the destruction of apartheid and the creation in its place of a non-racial democracy is a reality that is going to be realized sooner rather than later. This is the reality of contemporary South African politics, which is dictated less by the subjective desires of the De Klerk regime than by the objective reality reflected in the offensive launched by anti-apartheid forces both in South Africa and internationally.

Indeed, whilst it may appear that the Pretoria regime is in charge of political events, in reality South Africa's political agenda is dictated by the forces of liberation. To elaborate, at the heart of the anti-apartheid struggle there has always been a total rejection of the regime's philosophy and political practice of racial superiority. The anti-apartheid forces have espoused political positions which have now been enshrined in the United

(Ms. Potgieter, ANC)

Nations Declaration on Apartheid and its Destructive Consequences in Southern Africa. Those positions include support for principles of a new constitution which are predicated on racial equality. These have now been accepted by the regime, as reflected in its recently published manifesto. Pretoria also agrees thereby that its own constitution is unacceptable to the majority of people in South Africa.

Another requirement is the removal of obstacles to negotiations. Through both the Groote Schuur and Pretoria Minutes the regime has accepted the responsibility imposed on it by the United Nations Declaration: that for negotiations to proceed it must create a conducive climate by removing obstacles.

By agreeing to place on the agenda of the All-Party Congress the question of a constituent assembly to draft a new constitution, the Pretoria regime acknowledges that its own rejection of such an assembly does not preclude discussion and even adoption of this concept by the majority of the participants in the All-Party Congress.

The consequences of the regime's conceding the notion of transitional mechanisms to govern the country represents the prevalence of the position of the anti-apartheid forces asserting that the Pretoria regime cannot be both player and referee in the negotiation process.

In all this it is patently clear that Pretoria cannot and has not imposed its own agenda but has, rather, been compelled to adopt ours.

To say that the forces of liberation shall triumph over apartheid is not to ignore or minimize the numerous obstacles that lie in the path of such an outcome. Indeed, the euphoria that was generated by De Klerk's speech of February last year, resulting in, inter alia, the release of Nelson Mandela, the unbanning of organizations and the release of political prisoners, has now

(Ms. Potgieter, ANC)

been dampened by the sad reality that the regime has chosen to exhibit bad faith in its relations with the ANC. Whereas the ANC has strictly adhered to the letter and spirit of the solemn agreements reached with Pretoria, the same cannot be said of the regime. The following will illustrate this point.

Whilst Pretoria committed itself to release all political prisoners by 30 April 1991, to date, according to the Human Rights Commission and other independent sources, only 993 prisoners have been released, against a thousand or more still in prison, including some on death row. This situation has led to a countrywide hunger strike by political prisoners in an effort to back their demand for release. There are currently 400 political trials under way.

Similarly, the regime has not fully met its obligations with regard to political exiles under the agreements with the ANC. Moreover, some of the returned exiles have, despite indemnities, been subjected to arbitrary arrest and detention.

In spite of the utterances and undertakings by the minority regime vis-à-vis the Internal Security Act, the reality is that Pretoria, using the pretext of curbing the on-going violence, has been able to resort to its huge arsenal of repressive security legislation, with the object of rendering the ANC totally ineffective.

It therefore cannot be gainsaid that the negotiations process leading to a democratic South Africa is being held up by Pretoria's failure to honour its solemn commitments.

Allow me now, Mr. Chairman, to turn to one of the most serious and intractable problems facing all those that yearn for a speedy resolution of the South African conflict. I refer to the question of violence.

Addressing the question of violence has been a major preoccupation of the ANC. Indeed, this problem has been so acute that in itself constitutes a

(Ms. Potgieter, ANC)

serious obstacle to negotiations. Since the outbreak of this violence in the mid-1980s, 10,000 people have lost their lives. In 1990 alone 3,000 people died - an average of 10 people per day. During the first three months of this year 800 people died.

It is our considered view that the solution to this problem lies in the ability of all to grasp the complexities of this question and thus come up with workable solutions. There are therefore a few points that require examination.

Glibly to refer to this violence as merely "black-on-black" violence, inter-ethnic violence, or even ANC versus Inkatha, is not very helpful. To do so is to focus attention away from the source of this violence. Moreover, such a characterization perpetuates the erroneous notion that presents the question as though there was a sociological determinism that made inter-ethnic conflict inevitable.

Similarly, to continue to call this "black-on-black" violence is to feed the perception that black people are not capable of managing issues relating to public policy and practice and therefore cannot be allowed to rule themselves.

That the conflict, correctly understood, is not merely inter-ethnic is borne out by the fact that this violence does not cover the entire territory of South Africa where such ethnic groups coexist. In truth, this violence occurs not even in the entire province of Transvaal, but specifically in a given area around Johannesburg. This therefore suggests that there must be a more adequate explanation of this phenomenon.

(Ms. Potgieter, ANC)

Whilst it cannot be denied that when it broke out the violence was among supporters of Inkatha and the ANC in Natal, after a series of mediation efforts by both the ANC and Inkatha leadership the violence in Natal has all but died down. What has made it difficult to deal with the violence in the Transvaal is precisely that its origin is more complex than otherwise presented.

It is our contention that there is a hidden hand, particularly within the security apparatus, that has a vested interest in scuttling the negotiation process. The recent revelations by one Major Nico Bassom that as a functionary of Military Intelligence within the South African Defence Force he actively participated in planning and executing attacks on residents in and around Johannesburg, mobilizing the hostel-dwellers, is a case in point. It is therefore not accidental that this violence spread into the Johannesburg area immediately after agreements were reached in Pretoria between the regime and the ANC.

It stands to reason that the party that really stands to lose in this violence is the ANC, which has staked its credibility on the peace process, because many years of operating in clandestine conditions requires conditions of peace, so as to build itself and strengthen its organs. The charge levelled against the ANC, of allegedly shifting the goalposts when it refuses to proceed with negotiations unless the regime acts decisively to stop this violence, cannot stand.

The ANC has not only denounced the violence, but has undertaken a number of measures aimed at ending it. These include a series of consultations with the various political parties across the border, including Inkatha, the PAC and others. Such consultations have wherever relevant resulted in the setting up of working committees designed to defuse the explosive situation at the local level.

(Ms. Potgieter, ANC)

The ANC has also advocated a peace conference with the participation of all interested parties, to be convened by an impartial party. Leaders of the religious community have already advanced plans for the earliest convening of this conference.

The ANC has insisted that the regime, instead of allowing the violence to continue, thus attaining their objective of weakening the ANC, should carry out its responsibility to end the violence. The decision not to participate in further talks on the constitutional dispensation unless the regime responds positively to this demand should be seen in that context.

From all that has been stated, it is quite clear that the issue is not whether South Africa will be free from the tyranny of apartheid. The real question is: how soon, and therefore at what cost? The answer to this question lies, in the main, with the people of South Africa themselves. It cannot be denied, however, that the role of the international community is pivotal.

The combination of the struggles by the people of South Africa and international pressure has forced the regime to acknowledge that apartheid must go. The United Nations consensus Declaration on South Africa has been an important affirmation of that fact. We are therefore greatly concerned by the indecent haste with which some countries are beginning to lift sanctions and establish links with the apartheid regime. We wish to commend all those countries that have maintained the pressure on South Africa in order to ensure profound and irreversible change in South Africa. All those who cherish democracy should see this process through to its logical conclusion - namely, the establishment of a democratic South Africa.

(Ms. Potgieter, ANC)

We maintain that keeping the pressure on the regime and encouraging the process of change remain important and fundamental duties of the international community. Pressure should be exerted on the regime in particular to attain the following objectives: the removal of obstacles to negotiations; the establishment of an interim arrangement to oversee the transition from apartheid to a democratic South Africa; and the adoption of a democratic constitution and the installation of a democratic government.

Even as South Africa proceeds towards the establishment of a new political dispensation, there are a number of very grave socio-economic questions that simply cannot await the outcome of negotiations. They cry out for urgent attention. These include the delivery of educational services among blacks, where education is in a state of perpetual chaos; the provision of housing, thereby correcting the thorny problem of homelessness, which will be greatly aggravated by the return of thousands of political exiles; the provision of land for the dispossessed millions of blacks, which has become more urgent since the repeal of the Land Acts, which will not by itself change the present pattern of land ownership in our country; and health care for the majority of South Africans, which is still a luxury - diseases such as small pox and tuberculosis, which have been successfully treated in most countries, still claim hundreds of lives in South Africa.

The areas that I have just listed pose an important challenge for the international community and the United Nations. Providing assistance not only will address a real need but will in fact contribute to the process leading to a democratic future in South Africa. We therefore trust that we can continue to count on your support.

(Ms. Potgieter, ANC)

In conclusion, we have done our utmost to present our situation as we understand it. We are looking to the people of conscience the world over for assistance. For our part, we shall not rest until we rid ourselves and the world of the scourge of apartheid and create in its place a fully democratic South Africa.

The CHAIRMAN: I now have the honour to invite Ms. Patricia de Lille, representative of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania, to address this meeting.

Ms. de LILLE (Pan Africanist Congress of Azania) (PAC): The 16th of June - now popularly called "Soweto Day" - is an extraordinary day. The Soweto uprising involved the youth of our country; it involved school children. On 16 June 1976, the youth set ablaze the symbols of white foreign domination. The language of their colonizers was set on the road to hell. "Afrikaans is the language of the Boer oppressors", "Away with Afrikaans", "Away with Bantu Education", "We want our land", "Viva Azania", the children cried as the apartheid regime's police tore their bodies and as floods of blood gushed out of their bodies. Over 1,000 children were slaughtered by the South African regime.

These African students were protesting against the inferior education that the apartheid colonial oppressors had designed to destroy the minds of our people so that we could accept political oppression, social degradation and ruthless economic exploitation.

(Ms. de Lille, PAC)

The 1935 report of the Independent Committee on Education stated that

> "The education of the white child prepared him for life in a dominant society and the education of the black child for a subordinate society. ... The limits of Native Education form part of the social and economic structure of our society".

This state of slave education was intensified in 1953, when the settler Prime Minister of racist South Africa, Hendrick Verwoerd, told the minority apartheid colonial Parliament that the education which had been given to the African people had misdirected and misled them by showing them the green pastures of European society in which Africans were not allowed to graze. He also said:

> "There is no place for the Bantu in the European community above certain forms of labour. ... If the Native in South Africa ... is being taught to expect that he will live his adult life under a policy of equal rights, he is making a big mistake".

Today this genocidal type of education for slavery is a national disaster for the Africans in our country.

It is very important in this connection to remember that our late President, Zephania Mothopeng, was sentenced to 30 years' imprisonment for the Soweto uprising and the PAC role in that uprising. President Mothopeng was a leading educationist in our country. Sentencing the PAC President, Judge Curlewis said that this distinguished and selfless leader had sown the

> "seeds of revolution ... The riots you organized and predicted eventually took place in Soweto on the 16th of June and at Kagiso the next day".

President Mothopeng was released in November 1989, only when his left lung had completely collapsed and he was on the verge of death. He died in October 1990.

(Ms. de Lille, PAC)

After all these years, while we mourn the death of many of our African children and other heroes and heroines of Azania, very little has changed in our country's educational system.

The prospects for the future are grim. Our education is a disaster area. White schools are shut down because they have no white pupils; African students are in the streets because they have no classrooms. Millions of African children cannot attend school because of their impoverished background. The high-school students we turn out are like a nation of unschooled, untutored and unskilled people in an era of super-technology.

(Ms. de Lille, PAC)

The history of our struggle through the loss of precious blood and sweat of the oppressed and dispossessed majority within apartheid South Africa, and the gains won through the determined complementary support of the international community, will continue to inspire us in the PAC to continue our struggle unabated.

The racist regime, personified by De Klerk, frightened by the writing on the wall that the days of white domination are numbered, has turned into a chameleon and assumed a reformist posture. De Klerk sees himself today as an oppressor turned liberator, thus creating a very dangerous euphoria within and outside the forces of liberation. From the very outset De Klerk sought to divide and drive a wedge within the liberation forces, to liquidate the armed struggle and to undermine sanctions and all other forms of international isolation.

We in the PAC are aware of the violation of sanctions by the European Community and some other countries. The lifting of sanctions in the guise of rewarding De Klerk constitutes a breach of international obligations. It is a violation of the United Nations consensus Declaration of 14 December 1989. We can understand the reluctance of some Western countries to maintain sanctions stemming from their legacy of rewarding the slave-owner and not the wronged slave. But we are also very disappointed at the actions of some African countries which have rushed to establish trade and air links with the racist regime. We take consolation, however, in the fact that they are few. We salute the majority which have upheld sanctions despite the temptation of 30 pieces of silver which the regime is constantly and cunningly dangling; and the steadfastness and principled position of those African States is a great source of encouragement to us in our just struggle for self-determination and the eradication of apartheid.

(Ms. de Lille, PAC)

In that regard, we welcome the Los Angeles Declaration on the maintenance of the cultural boycott organized by the Special Committee against Apartheid.

We in the liberation movement have responded to this calculated strategy by calling for a principled united front of all patriotic organizations of the oppressed. The meeting of the PAC and the ANC held in Harare on 15 and 16 April this year is our collective response against the regime's divide-and-rule strategy.

We are here today appealing to the United Nations to guard jealously against any attempt by the apartheid regime and its supporters to undermine sanctions and the United Nations Declaration of 14 December 1989, which is the only basis for negotiations, and to eradicate, not to reform apartheid. Apartheid cannot be reformed, just as nazism could not be reformed. The peripheral changes introduced by De Klerk are not sufficiently profound and irreversible as to warrant a shift in the application of sanctions and other measures.

Depite De Klerk's announcements on scrapping the Population Registration Act, the Land Act and certain security laws, these will not be scrapped in their entirety. The scrapping of the Population Registration Act will remain meaningless while the tricameral apartheid Parliament exists with separate chambers for whites, so-called coloureds and Indians.

The historical record shows that through colonial conquest the European population - 13 per cent of the total - owns and controls 87 per cent of our land; 5 per cent of the white population owns 95 per cent of the productive resources in our country. For the PAC, therefore, our land is owned and controlled by Europeans, having been acquired by illegitimate means of war and colonial aggression. That title to our land is therefore fraudulent and illegitimate.

(Ms. de Lille, PAC)

We contend that it is absurd for the regime in its preface to the so-called white paper to say that

"The objective is to do justice to all the citizens, also as far as rights to land are concerned [and] to broaden opportunities for all while preserving lawfully acquired rights".

What is lawful about taking a people's land with the barrel of a gun? And what is just about asking them to buy their own land with resources that have been deliberately put out of their reach for these many years?

The apartheid and colonialist rulers of South Africa show no remorse for their inhumanity to our poeple. Now they resort to lies to justify their colonial seizure of our country by force of arms. The scrapping of the Land Act does not in itself reverse this land ownership, or our national dispossession, or inequality.

Much has been said about changes introduced by De Klerk since February 1990. Suffice it to say that the credentials of the De Klerk regime and its declared intention to introduce change can only be tested in concrete action. To date De Klerk has refused to comply with the conditions laid down in the Harare Declaration and the United Nations consensus Declaration, particularly those pertaining to the unconditional release of political prisoners and the unimpeded return of exiles, which he must fulfil unilaterally to create a climate conducive to negotiations.

De Klerk's regime also remains opposed to the fundamental demand of our people, namely the establishment of a democratically elected constituent assembly elected on the basis of one person, one vote, and charged with the responsibility of drawing up a democratic constitution for our country. We appeal to the United Nations and all Governments to support our legitimate demand for a democratically elected constituent assembly.

(Ms. de Lille, PAC)

It should not escape the notice of this Committee that De Klerk's regime fully understands that the outcome of any negotiations does not depend in the main on the good intentions of the adversaries but is predicated on their relative and potential strength. The regime is thus committed to a policy of divide and rule and to reducing the numerical strength of the dispossessed Africans. Hence it has been actively involved in recruiting death squads and secret units such as the Askaris, the Civil Cooperation Bureau (CCB), the Buffalo Battalion 32, Koevoet and many others to fuel the current violence raging in our country. Through that strategy De Klerk hopes to negotiate with a relatively weakened opposition of the oppressed and dispossessed Africans.

We admit that rivalries and hegemonistic postures within the ranks of the liberation movement have been responsible to some extent for the ugly violence within the African community. We nevertheless submit that in the main the source of violence is the apartheid regime. Our efforts to arrest that violence have been undermined by the regime's hit squads and mercenaries. We thus call on the United Nations to call for the verifiable disbanding of those death squads and the expulsion of mercenaries from our country.

Since the unbanning of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania, we have been actively engaged in a programme to rebuild our underground structures into a strong and viable above-board organization. We have succeeded in building branches and regional offices throughout the length and breadth of our country. Our need is to sustain these structures so they will meet the challenge of our demand for full self-determination of the dispossessed and oppressed people of Azania.

(Ms. de Lille, PAC)

We call upon the United Nations and all democratic forces to redouble their support for the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania in our final onslaught on the last bastion of colonialism and settler minority rule in our continent of Africa. Finally, we sincerely thank the United Nations for the valuable support rendered to our just struggle. We nevertheless request Members to do more so that we can quickly realize the eradication of apartheid and the destruction of colonialism in our country.

In conclusion, we wish to express our solidarity with the Palestine Liberation Organization and the people of occupied Palestine.

The CHAIRMAN: I now invite Mr. Nassar Al-Kidwa, Permanent Observer for Palestine at the United Nations, to make a statement.

Mr. AL-KIDWA (Palestine) (interpretation from Arabic): Mr. Chairman and colleagues, the representatives of the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania: I should like at the outset to extend our thanks to you, Sir, and to the other members of the Special Committee against Apartheid for having invited us to participate in this important event, the observance of International Day of Solidarity with the Struggling People of South Africa, and what it represents - the fifteenth anniversary of the massacre perpetrated against the people of South Africa during their uprising in Soweto. This is an occasion for us and for all the members of the international community to reaffirm our united principled position in support of the struggle of the people of South Africa to put an end to the system of apartheid and to build a united, democratic South Africa free from racial discrimination.

We now witness important victories achieved by the people of South Africa through the struggle of democratic forces - achievements which have taken many forms, including the repeal of some of the racial laws, the unbanning of

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certain political organizations and the start of negotiations by the Government of South Africa. These are all victories, which in our view, resulted from the sacrifices made by the black people of South Africa, the sacrifices made by our brothers and sisters, as well as by efforts on the part of the international community which, through boycotts against South Africa, has exerted pressure on the apartheid regime. That is the main lesson we should draw from this situation, namely, that positive change is not possible without creating practical political realities to force that entity - as well as which others - to make the required changes.

Even though there have been achievements and victories, we should not be blinded to the current great difficulties and to the magnitude of the problems that still need to be dealt with, foremost among which is the release of all political prisoners and the drawing up of a new constitution for the country.

In this connection, I should like to refer to the special responsiblity of that regime in connection with the failure to put an end to the continued violence.

While there have been changes, which we support, we nevertheless consider it important to intensify pressure and to continue the boycott against the apartheid regime, on the one hand, and to increase support and assistance to the democratic forces and the people of South Africa, on the other hand. That is necessary if the people of South Africa are to achieve all their objectives.

As the representative of the Palestinian people and of the Palestine Liberation Organization, its sole legitimate representative, I must point out the similarities, links and cooperation between the two systems, that is, the system of apartheid and the Israeli entity, and between the struggle of the

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people of South Africa and the struggle of the people of Palestine. Those peoples live under similar difficult circumstances and work on a similar political and moral basis in their struggle to achieve similar legitimate goals.

In this connection, I should like once again to extend our greetings to the democratic forces that are struggling for freedom, particularly in the ANC and the PAC. I should like also to extend our greetings, on behalf of the Palestinian people, to Mr. Nelson Mandela, who has become a symbol of the struggle of the people of South Africa and of all peoples struggling for freedom throughout the world.

The CHAIRMAN: We have just heard the last statement in today's observance of International Day of Solidarity with the Struggling People of South Africa. I should like to express once again our great appreciation to all the participants here, which include more than 27 Ambassadors and Permanent Representatives at the United Nations, for their support of and solidarity with the ongoing struggle against apartheid. I am sure the solidarity expressed will help to advance the process towards negotiations now under way and to contribute to the final establishment of a united, non-racial and democratic society in South Africa.

Before adjourning the meeting, I wish to inform all members that many Heads of State or Government, Foreign Ministers and other Government officials have graciously sent messages to the Special Committee on this occasion. The Special Committee has received messages from the following Member States: Angola, Antigua and Barbuda, Argentina, Bangladesh, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, Egypt, Ghana, India, Jamaica, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Malaysia, Mali, Mexico, New Zealand, Pakistan, Panama, Peru, Senegal, Suriname, Tanzania, Tunisia, Vanuatu, and Zambia. In addition, the Special

(The Chairman)

Committee received messages from the World Federation of Trade Unions and the Women's International Democratic Federation. I suggest that, in accordance with previous practice, and taking into account the issue of financial implications, the texts of these messages be published as a document of the Special Committee against Apartheid.

If I hear no objection, it will be so decided.

It was so decided.

The meeting rose at 12.50 p.m.